AN ANSVVER TO THE OBSERVATIONS UPON THE STATE of the Nation. IN JANUARY 171$\frac{2}{3}$.

By the Author of, The EXAMINER.

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To the Author of the Observations upon the State of the Nation in *January* 1712 13.

My Lord

IF I knew whether the Value or Scarcity of Wit and Sense induc'd *your Lordship* to express your Indignation against *Penny Papers*, it would be some Consolation to me, that the Legislature have set me at so high a Price as *Three-half-pence*, the better to qualify me for *your Lordship*'s Acquaintance. I had once the Honour to be known to you; and though you are now a *Six penny* Author, yet since your *Title Page* seems to promise a *Monthly State of the Nation*, I hope we may renew our Intimacy when you are come within *Three Weeks* March of your old Ally and Confederate.

As an Instance of *your Lordships* great Worth and Sagacity, you are now listed with a Party, *Who*, you frankly Confess, *acted when in Power, as if they had forgot they were Christians; who brav'd the Lord of Hosts, conniv'd at, and encourag'd the Children of Darkness, and at last fell by the Judgment of God.* Does *your Lordship* Herd with these, for the same

good Reason that Physicians visit the Sick? But have you wrought any Cures? Have you made any Converts? You are not positive; but say, *You hope they will repent of their Folly*: Since then they are still Impenitent, and indeed their Behaviour gives us no tolerable Prospect of their growing better, permit us to hope in our Turns, that *your Lordship* will be cautious, and call to mind the many sad Examples that have been Ruin'd by ill Company.

Is it for you, *my Lord*, to say, how ill these Men have been treated by the *Tories*, whenever now you are one of them, you cannot forbear the *Old Style* of calling them *No Christians*, and *Enemies to GOD*? Only *your Lordship* seems to like them best since their Fall; which I know not how to account for, whether by charging it on your Wisdom or Charity.

When we talk of the *Pamphlet War*, it is your Interest to stand *Neuter*: You have been pelted by both Sides; and I heartily condole with *your Lordship* on the occasion. But you must not be a Judge in a Cause, where you were reckon'd by your present Friends, to be so considerable a Party; especially since you understand the *Law* no better than to talk of *Terms little short of Rebellion*; as if any *Terms* could be so by the Laws of *England*.

Your Lordship promises not to treat the *Tories* as vilely as they have treated the *Whigs*; and in that you are right: For though you have forsaken them, yet you own, *They are for the Church of England, for Monarchy and Episcopacy*, whereupon you give them your Blessing: And after a

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ſmart Remark, *That they would be well pleaſed to ſee* French *Wine cheap*; you add, *That in their Hearts they are againſt the* Pretender: All this put together, makes a much better Character than that of being *No Chriſtians, expos'd by their Folly to the juſt Judgment of God.* Your *Lordſhip* therefore might have ſpar'd the Doctrines of *Not Reſiſting* and *Not Reviling* the Powers; for by your own Account of both *Miniſtries*, the preſent have much the advantage of the laſt, not only as better Governors, but better Men; The Love of Truth as well as of Peace, oblig'd you to uſe them with Reſpect; and accordingly your *Lordſhip*'s Modeſty aſſigns no other Name to the Faults you find with their Conduct, but that of *Apprehenſions.*

All you charge them with, as the effect of their Councils at leaſt, though not of their Intentions, is only the bringing in of *Popery* and *Slavery*, and the ruining of their Country, and of all *Europe*, by an Inſecure and Diſhonourable Peace: And yet you profeſs *not to accuſe them*, and *to be moſt in your Suggeſtions*, as ſtill retaining ſome regard for the *Goſpel*, which enjoins us *not to ſpeak Evil of Dignities.* I know not how *your Lordſhip* can make them amends, but by perſiſting to oppoſe them with Vigour, that you may add to their Triumphs and augment their Glory.

Theſe Apprehenſions you refer to the *Parliament*, and at this time very luckily, when you ſay, *The Peace is in a manner concluded, and the* Two Houſes *are to meet, to offer up their united Gratulations on that occaſion.* 'Tis an Undertak-

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ing worthy *your Lordſhip*, to diſturb their Joys, and oppreſs their Authority.

The great Reaſon, ſays *Your Lordſhip* in large *Text*, which *is* GIVEN *for making Peace, is the Ballance of Power*; but you GIVE another Reaſon, which I hope will never be TAKEN, for carrying on the War: Your Argument is this; *Becauſe* Charles V *was Emperor and King of* Spain, *and in Poſſeſſion of the* Netherlands, Naples, Burgundy, *and the* Weſt Indies *at the ſame time, and yet* Francis I. *kept him at Bay above* Thirty *Years, therefore we muſt fight on to procure more Dominions for the* Preſent Emperor, *than ever* Charles V. *had* (for his *Brother*, as *King of the Romans*, had all the Hereditary Counties) *only to try if, notwithſtanding this Acceſſion, we may not ſtill be able to prevent his Over-running all* Europe. But *Charles* had many more Enemies in Arms againſt him, beſides *Francis* I, and I do not rightly comprehend what *your Lordſhip* means by *keeping at Bay*: For *Francis* was taken Priſoner, and the *Dutchy of Milan* wreſted from him; and the War which was entail'd upon *Philip* II, Son of *Charles* V, ended in the Battle of St. *Quintin*, *when* France, ſays *your Lordſhip*, *lay wholly at the Mercy of* Spain.

If what you ſuggeſt be true, that *Henry* VIII, of *England*, not ſo Powerful, in your Judgment as Queen *Anne*, did effectually turn the Ballance of *Europe* upon that great *Emperor*, why may not *Great Britain* turn it upon *France*, if ever that Crown and *Spain* ſhould be united under *Phil.* V? Eſpecially when She is ſupported by ſo many *Great Allies*; and *Philip* with that Acceſſi-

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on, cannot be ſuppos'd to weigh near ſo much as *Charles* V.

What if the *Two Branches* of the *Houſe* of *Bourbon* ſhould not Quarrel, is it any Proof againſt ſuch an Incident that *your Lordſhip* obſerves, *the* Two Branches of *the Houſe of* Auſtria *liv'd in perfect Amity*? My Lord, It is our Intereſt they ſhould not Quarrel; for then it is probable that they will not Uſurp upon or Invade one another, and ſo *France* and *Spain* will be ſtill more divided than ever.

You ſeem to ſuſpect, that King *Philip* may be under Secret Engagements to his Grandfather: *Who probably would not ſpend ſuch vaſt Sums of Money in his behalf, for Nothing*: But does not *your Lordſhip* ſay, France *muſt ſupport* Spain *for its own ſake*; *and is* Self-Intereſt *Nothing*?

Your *Lordſhip* is ſo full of Speculations on this Subject, and you repreſent King *Philip* as ſo much of a Royal Boy, a *Child in Leading-Strings*, That I begin to think no Acceſſion of Power can make him Formidable. To faſten his Attachments more cloſely upon *France*, you are raiſing a Rebellion againſt him in *Spain*, where you aſſure us, *That* Arragon *and* Catalonia *will be diſguſted*: *That Factions may ariſe in* Caſtile; but of this you are not certain; *and that* Portugal *will foment Diſturbances, and harbour Malecontents*: All this while, you forget where the Argument, ſuch as it is, pinches; for you ſhould have made *Philip* a more Terrible Youth, if you really intended to obſtruct the Peace.

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Your Lordſhip will be ever admir'd as an exact *Stater of Caſes*: For ſpeaking of the *French King*, you ſay, *At Sea he is an Overmatch for any one of the Maratime Powers, and an equal Match for Both.* I muſt intreat *your Lordſhip* to reconcile this with the *Dutch State of the War* for the laſt Year, in which they are pleas'd to aſcribe the Ruin of the *French* Power at Sea to the Conduct of your old Friend Sir *George Rooke*, in the Fight of *Malaga*.

Your Lordſhip is under ſuch ſtrange Perplexities when you begin to form your Apprehenſions of the *French King's* Deſign, that I hope no Mortal will believe, you or your old Friends were ever in his Intereſts, or let into his Secrets: In one Place you are inclin'd to think, That he is grown good, and repents of his former Miſdeeds: In another you imagine, He only treats to gain time: Which muſt needs be of great advantage to him, for you make him ſo Old and Infirm, as if you expected to hear of his Death every *Poſt*; though a *Pretace* of your new Acquaintance, who in a late Pamphlet undertakes to Inſure for your Lordſhip's Honeſty, threatens us with a Prophecy, *That he is as long-liv'd as himſelf.*

After theſe Conjectures about the old Monarch, your Lordſhip gives the young *Dauphine* over; not without a Hint at the Methods practic'd to clear the ground of the two laſt; tho' I dare be poſitive neither of them was ſlain your Lordſhip's way, by Dint and Poiſon of Pamphlets: And then you inſiſt, that King *Philip's* Renunciation will be valid no further than it can be ſupported by Arms. Is not this the Reaſon of *Her Majeſty's* forming ſo ſtrong and extenſive a *Guarranty*, for the Performance of that important Contract? Are you ſuch a *Hero* to force us into a War, before the *Dauphine* dies, and King *Philip* breaks his Word, only becauſe one may die, and the

other

other be Perjur'd? Do we hang Men to prevent their Robbing us, or knock all we meet down, for fear they should pick our Pockets? If the two Crowns under the Direction of *Lewis* XIV, have not kept their ground against the *Allies*, why they should be able to do it under *Philip*, is not easily to be imagin'd; notwithstanding all these things should come to pass which your Lordship apprehends, The Death of the *Dauphine*: the perjury of King *Philip*; the acquiescence of the *Dukes* of *Berry* and *Orleans*; the Rebellion of the *French*, in order to force *Philip* to be their King; the Inclinations of the *Spaniards* to become a Province to *France*, and the Indolence and Unconcernedness of all *Europe* and its *Guarantees*, to stand by without Interposing, These Apprehensions you, my Lord, may value at what rate you please; but so long as they do not stand us in six Millions a Year, I am easie.

I wish your *Lordship* had suffer'd your new Friends to correct what you say Of the validity of indefeasible *Allegiance*, of *Birthright* not to be renounc'd, of *Titles* reviving after having lain *dormant*, and of *preferring* the *Right Succession* to the *Cause* of *Religion*, of which you give us an Instance in the Case of *Henry* IV. and the *Cardinal* of *Bourbon*. I hope you will let them know, you never learn'd some of these things among the *Tories*; and I should be glad to be satisfy'd, with such Principles are only Tolerated in *new Converts*.

What the *French* did at *Lisle* before 1708, to the Prejudice of our Manufactures, which your *Lordship* undertakes to resent, they will perhaps be so ungracious to justify, because they were at that time our Enemies: But if our Allies the *Dutch*, have us'd us worse in that Trade since which neither *they* nor your *Lordship* will ever be able to disprove, you, who are so fond of Proverbs, instead of —— *Straining at Gnats*

Quiet and Swallowing of Camels; may put down
——*the dues a Barrel the better Herring*!

My *Lord*, I would not lay Load upon the *Dutch*; tho' the *Examiner* is in their Debt, and owns he has not furnish'd his *Quota*; neither would I lessen the mutual Confidence between Us and the *States*, by your *Lordship's* Example, when you are so forward to furnish them with Suspicions: But you own, They are our *Rivals in Trade*, and do not deny, but they may have *over-reach'd us*: My great Quarrel to them has been on that head, and in behalf of the Independent Sovereignty of *Great Britain*. I will abate of my Zeal, when their Writers repent of their Insolence. Not that ever I shall be brought to compliment them with all that fine Address of which your *Lordship* is Master; when you say, that, *next under God*, they have been *the Preservers of the Protestant Religion*; and, that Queen *Elizabeth* could no more stand without *them*, than they without *Her*: I am sorry you cannot afford to put your own Country at the Head of the *Protestant Interest*: I am sure it might be easily done, if we could once prove, that a *poor distress'd State* was by no means equal to the *Greatest Princess* in the World.

I am afraid your *Lordship* has made a false Muster of the *Protestant Forces*: You say, we have lost the Palatine, Hesse and *Saxony*: That the only two Protestant Powers in *Germany*, are *Hanover* and *Brandenburgh*: So that the Hands of the Work must rest upon *England* and *Holland*. Your *Lordship* does well to judge the *Protestant Powers* of the *North*, because the Peace you oppose, and the Measures of the present Ministry, are particularly calculated for compassing the Destruction of those Powers, and adding a very great force of Guardians to the Protestant Interest, by their Success in Spain: I hope your *Lordship* will Condescend your *Lordship's* Views to unfold the Mystery.

When this great Work is accomplished, we hope to cure

cure your *Lordſhip* of your Apprehenſions: Certainly they are great Symtoms of the *Spleen*, ſince you firmly believe, *That* Her Majeſty *and* Her Miniſters *have* the *Proteſtant* Intereſt moſt at *Heart*: *That the* Tories *hate the* Pretender: *That the* Parliament *are* True Britons, *and That the* Dutch *for their own ſakes, will ſtand by us*. Whence then can your Fears Ariſe? Muſt they not come from that Party, *Who*, as you ſay, *can forget they are Chriſtians, can countenance Profaneneſs, Irreligion*, and even downright *Paganiſm*; and who are now openly combin'd to obſtruct all the good Deſigns of ſuch a *Parliament*, ſuch a *Miniſtry*, ſuch a QUEEN.

Your *Lordſhip*'s Sincerity in the Affair of the *Occaſional Bill* may be allow'd; but we cannot ſo readily Credit you, when you ſeek for the reſt of the *Whigs*. My Lord *of S.* who always gives a Critical Reaſon for every Change in his Principles, has not yet Publiſh'd the Motives that Conſtrain'd him to that once *Perſecuting Cut-throat* Act, which has done ſuch dreadful Execution: But the beſt *Caſuiſts* of your *Lordſhip*'s old Acquaintance will tell you, *That it is do good that Evil may come of it*, is no ſuch Proof of a hearty Affection for the Church.

You ſay, *there is a Door Open'd on the ſide of Scotland*; and that way you *apprehend* the coming of the *Pretender*. For the ſake of the *Proteſtant* Religion I am inclin'd to believe, that good part of your Intelligence is not true: I am ſure it ſtands upon the *Scotch Members* to do themſelves and their Country Juſtice: But if, as your *Lordſhip* ſtiles *Whig* & *Tory*, on the other ſide of the *Tweed*, are *Names* univerſally underſtood to *denote Men* who are *for* or *againſt* the *Pretender*, theſe miſtaken ſentiments can only be charg'd upon the Conduct of your new Friends, who by diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing the *Epiſcopalians*, left that People to the Mercy and Choice of two Tyrants, the *Papiſt* and *Fanatick*: Your *Lordſhip* does therefore with great Judgment, refer the removing of this Evil

to the *Parliament*: For by ſhewing the *Scots* the Beauty of the *Church of England*, though but in a *Tolerated State*, they have interpos'd between that prevailing Diſtinction; and by a happy *Medium* convinc'd them, That they may be for the *Queen* and the *Proteſtant Religion*, without leaving their Liberties at the Mercy of the *Preſbytery*; which I take to be nobler Management than the famous *Act of Security*, and may perhaps make way for *another*, *happy Union*.

My *Lord*, I cannot immagine what other Inducement beſides the force of *Genius*, ſhould ſet you on to Publiſh ſuch violent *Apprehenſions*: You proteſs to *reverence the Miniſtry*, *to be modeſt in your Suggeſtions*: You ſay, *you will not accuſe them*: *You are content to truſt them with the Publick Intereſts*, *becauſe they certainly know the State of the Nation*, *and the Condition of our Allies*, *better than any private Man*; and *you thank God for the Security of a* Britiſh *Houſe of* Commons: *My Lord*, Your Modeſty is ſo great, it leaves us at a loſs to find out your Meaning. Do you write for Profit, and to inform others? But you ſay, *They know better already*. Do you write for Pleaſure, and to divert others? You ſhall make us as merry as you can, if you will lay aſide your Fears and Jealouſies.

But my Lord! *was it altogether ſo* Modeſt a Suggeſtion *to imagine*, *that the* Houſe of Commons, *you ſo highly value ſhould not ſtand to their* Vote *againſt my Lord* T----d, *for ſigning the* Dutch Barrier; *when* Your Lordſhip *knows he was not cenſur'd for the* Barrier, *which has been ſince confirm'd*; *but*, *in effect*, *for ſigning to the Invaſion of his own Country*; *the Ruin of our Trade*, *and the Leſſening the Independency of the Crown*; *and why the* Commons *ſhould Retract what has produced ſome Symptoms of* Dutch *Modeſty*, *muſt be left to* your Lordſhip's *great*

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Judgment and Penetration. Was it altogether ſo Modeſt a Suggeſtion, *to call the New made Lords* a Troop of Peers, *or to inſinuate, as if their Act of the Prerogative were an Infringement of our Liberties:* Your Lordſhip *has* Council *near you, and may be inform'd better: I believe your great Grievance is, that you cannot charge any of this Troop with* Deſertion.

My Lord! *The good Old Way of Examining any Treaty or Incident in Politicks, was to ſee every Article, enquire into the Demands, Conceſſions, Rights, Powers, Intereſts, and Inclinations of the States and Princes concern'd, and what Aſpect and Influence they have upon our own Country: But the preſent Peace is attack'd a different way;* Your Lordſhip *has marſhalled together ſome Scraps and Parallels from Hiſtory, and ſeveral deep Conjectures of a Prophetick Nature, which, properly ſpeaking, are Remarks upon Futurity: Yet you would fain have them called* Conſiderations of Weight: *But had the* Privy-Seal *been in ſuch Hands, I ſuppoſe the Negotiations at* Utrecht *would have gone on heavily, and we might have ſtay'd for a Peace, till the* French *could have given a good Account of* Philip the Fair *and King* Pepin, *as well as of* Lewis *XIV. Indeed, they are ſuch prodigious Hiſtorians, that you are poſitive,* They take ſome of their Meaſures from the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter.*

My Lord! *If the Recital of Hiſtory, without the Application, can Recommend you, I ſtand prepared to wiſh you Joy: For whatever Airs of a Publick Spirit we* Authors *may give our ſelves, they ſay, we cannot forbear in ſome* Page or

other

other, to drop an unweary Expreſſion, which betrays our whole Deſign, and diſcovers the Motive that lets us a Writing. Thus Your Lordſhip *is pleaſed to Account for your Conduct in this Buſineſs, by ſaying,* That you are *Amicus Curiæ, which I venture to* Tranſlate, A Friend to the Court; *tho' you were not ſo happy* to be at laſt Retained. *But whether you are* at laſt Retained *or no, I hope you will go on, and give us a* better State of the Nation in March, *than you did in* January. *I am,*

My LORD!

Your Lordſhip's great Admirer

and Humble Servant,

Examiner.

FINIS.